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ABSTRACT

This 25-page description of Choctaw morphology or word structure is based on the spelling of words provided by "A Choctaw Orthography," written by the same author for the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program of Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma. (See AL 002 770 for the companion volume.) In this work, the author defines some frequently used terms, and deals with: (1) articles and cases, (2) conjunctions, (3) personal pronouns, and (4) pronoun affixes in the noun. (AMM)

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# CHOCTAW MORPHOLOGY

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# I. INTRODUCTION

This description of Choctaw morphology or word structure is based on the spelling of words provided by 'A Choctaw Orthography', written by the same author for the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program of Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma. It is the second part of a series of which 'A Choctaw Orthography' is the first. The third part covers Choctaw syntax or sentence structure.

We define here a few terms.

Morpheme a segment of letters which has a meaning, and which cannot be broken up into smaller segments which have meanings. For example, the word hattak 'man' is a single morpheme, because we cannot break it into smaller parts with meanings. The word chipisali 'I see you' has three morphemes: chi- 'you', pisa 'to see', and -li 'I'. The word osaposhi 'garden' has two morphemes: osapa 'field' and -oshi 'little'. The words yaloba 'leech', issoba 'horse' and shokshobak 'gourd' are composed of yala 'grubworm', issi 'deer' and shokshi 'melon' with the ending -oba 'like it (grubworm, deer, melon) only bigger'; in addition, shokshobak has a final morpheme -k.

Affix and Root When a word can be broken up into a number of morphemes, one of the morphemes is a root, and the others are affixes. The main part is the root, and we say that the affixes are added on to the root. In the examples above, hattak, pisa, osapa, yala, issi, and shokshi are roots; chi-,-li, -oshi, -oba, and -k are affixes.

Prefix Suffix Infix If an affix is added to the front of a word, it is a prefix; chi- is a prefix. When prefixes are written alone, we add a dash after them. If an affix is added to the end of the word, it is a suffix; -li, -oshi, -oba, and -k are suffixes. When suffixes are written alone, we place a dash in front of them. If an affix is added in the inside of a root, it is an infix. If we add the infix -lh- to the word hoponi 'to cook', we get holhponi 'hominy soup'; -lh- is an infix because it goes inside the root.

Enclitic Proclitic Some morphemes are attached to words, but they are not attached as firmly as affixes are. If they attach to the end of the preceeding word they are enclitics. The tense morphemes of Choctaw are enclitics, for example -tok 'recent past tense' and -t tok 'remote past tense', as in chipisali-tok 'I saw you (recently)' and chipisali-t tok 'I saw you (some time ago)'. If a clitic attaches to the front of the word which follows, it is a proclitic. Some of the subject pronoun morphemes are proclitics, such as ish- 'you' in ish-hokchi 'you plant it'.

We will generally separate clitics from the words they attach to with a dash; normally we will not separate affixes in this way, except for clarity in some examples.

## II. THE ARTICLES AND CASES

The Choctaw language has a great many articles. The use of the articles--their meanings--is very difficult for the non-native speaker to understand. The meanings given them here is only tentative.

We use the term 'article' for morphemes and combinations of morphemes which can translate the English words a an the this that. In English we say these three big trees; in Choctaw the order is the reverse: trees big three these or iti hochito tochchina ilappat.

Besides translating the English words mentioned above, the articles take the case suffixes. The two case suffixes are -t and -n; the subject of the sentence takes -t, the object takes -n. After the contrastive article o, the nominative case is -sh, as in hattak osh 'a man'.

Sometimes, to add emphasis, a suffix -o follows the case suffix, as in hattak mato 'that man'.

The most common articles are listed below in the order in which they usually occur. A dash after an article indicates that the case suffix can be added to it.

1. atok (with long a)
2. ok
3. a- ma- yamma- pa- ilappa-
4. oka- (with long o)
5. o-, ash o-, inlih

The articles on line 3 have approximately the following meanings (there is some dialect variation in the meanings): a- 'a, the'; ma- 'that,

those'; yamma- 'that, those'; pa- 'this, those'; ilappa- 'this, these'. These articles can be used alone with the case suffixes; the emphatic suffix -o can be added. The forms appear in Chart I.

CHART I

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| at | ato | an | ano |
| mat | mato | man | mano |
| yammat | yammato | yamman | yammano |
| pat | pato | pan | pano |
| ilappat | ilappato | ilappan | ilappano |
| Nominative | | Objective | |

The article oka-, which is difficult to define, has the same four forms as ma-: okat okato okan okano.

The two articles o- and ash o- of line 5 take -sh instead of -t in the nominative case. The article o- is sometimes used to mean 'a', but usually indicates strong contrast. The article ash o- means something like 'the aforementioned'. They cannot take the emphatic suffix -o, so they have the following nominative and objective forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| ash osh | ash on |
| osh | on |

Any of the articles on lines 3 and 4 can be followed by the articles on line 5. When this happens, they take the suffix -k as in ak mak yammak pak ilappak okak. Using mak as an example, we find the forms in Chart II.

CHART II

| | |
|---|---|
| mak ash osh | mak ash on |
| mak osh | mak on |

CHART II, cont.

| | |
|---|---|
| mak inlih | mak inlih |

These are followed by osh or on

Similarly, we have the following forms of the other articles:

a-: ak osh, ak on, ak inlih

yamma-: yammak ash osh, yammak ash on, yammak osh, yammak on, yammak inlih

pa-: pak ash osh, pak ash on, pak osh, pak on, pak inlih

ilappa-: ilappak ash osh, ilappak ash on, ilappak osh, ilappak on, ilappak inlih

oka-: okak osh, okak on

The articles on lines 1 and 2 cannot occur alone, but are always followed by some form of ma- or oka-; less commonly, they are followed by one of the other articles of line 3. We give some of the forms in Chart III.

CHART III

| | |
|---|---|
| atok mat atok mato | atok man atok mano |
| ok mat ok mato | ok man ok mano |
| atok ok mat atok ok mato | atok ok man atok ok mano |
| atok okat atok okato | atok okan atok okano |
| atok mak osh | atok mak on |
| atok okak osh | atok okak on |
| atok ok mak osh | atok ok mak osh |
| atok mak ash osh | atok mak ash on |
| atok mak okak osh | atok mak okak on |
| atok mak inlih | atok mak inlih |
| atok mak okat, atok mak okato | atok mak okan, atok mak okano |

Finally, one more point. The articles which begin with a vowel, namely a̱tok ok a oka ash o and o, sometimes begin with an h or a y. The rules for the use of this h and y are not clear to me. The h is probably part of the preceeding word, though it is commonly spelled as part of the article. This gives the following forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| hatok | yatok |
| hok | yok |
| ha | ya |
| hoka | yoka |
| hash o | yash o |
| ho | yo |

as in the following expressions:

hatok osh, yatok osh

hok mat, yok mat

hat, yat

hokat, yokat

hash osh, yash osh

hosh, yosh

These are but a few of the most common articles and combinations of articles.

## III. THE CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are words or groups of words which join words, phrases or clauses. For example, the conjunction and joins two words in Tom and Jane, two phrases in the old man and his sons, and two clauses in John went to town and I stayed here. Other English conjunctions are but, or, and so, therefore, in order to, if...then..., and then, when, and while.

Choctaw conjunctions are like the articles in form. Most of them can take the case suffixes; some of them have different forms to indicate different tenses. Like the articles, the uses of the conjunctions are often bewildering to the native speaker of English--it is hard to pin their meanings down. The meanings we give here are tentative.

But

As in English, the conjunction 'but' is often left out, as in the following sentences:

Oka ilappat lashpa kiyo, kapassa. This water is not hot, it's cold.

Oka ilappat lashpa kiyo, pi libisha. This water is not hot, it's just warm.

The most common form of the conjunction 'but' is made out of the articles okak o- and ak o-. These have both nominative and objective cases, so the complete forms are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| okak osh | okak on |
| ak osh | ak on |

These conjunctions appear in the following examples:

Tamaha iya hokak osh, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

He went to town, but he didn't buy anything.

Tamaha iya hokak on, anttali-tok.

He went to town, but I stayed home.

Yayali-achin amahoba-tok ak osh, akyayo ki-tok.

I thought I was going to cry, but I didn't.

Omba-achin amahoba-tok ak on, ikombo ki-tok.

I thought it was going to rain, but it didn't.

Notice that if the second clause has a new subject, the objective case is used; if the second clause repeats the subject of the first clause, the nominative case is used. All conjunctions use the cases in this way. Notice also that ak o- is used after the past tense enclitic -tok; okak o- is used otherwise.

Most conjunctions are attached to the first clause, as in the above examples, where the comma follows the conjunction. To begin a sentence with a conjunction, the verb yohmi 'to do, be so, happen' is used, as in the following examples:

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi hokak osh, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

He went to town. But he didn't buy anything.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi hokak on, anttali-tok.

He went to town. But I stayed home.

Yayali-achin amahoba-tok. Yohmi-tok ak osh, akyayo ki-tok.

I thought I was going to cry. But I didn't.

Omba-achin amahoba-tok. Yohmi-tok ak on, ikombo ki-tok.

I thought it was going to rain. But it didn't.

Another conjunction with a similar meaning is ak inlih kiya, which means 'nevertheless' or 'however', and sometimes 'although'.

Tamaha iya-tok ak inlih kiya, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

Although he went to town, he didn't buy anything.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi ak inlih kiya, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

He went to town. However, he didn't buy anything.

Another conjunction meaning 'but' is amba which always begins a sentence:

Amba nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

But he didn't buy anything.

If...Then... and When...Then...

The same conjunction is used in these two meanings; which meaning it has can be determined from the context. The forms of the conjunction are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ok mat | ok mato | ok man | ok mano |
| -h mat | -h mato | -h man | -h mano |
| -k mat | -k mato | -k man | -k mano |

Longer forms also occur, such as ok mak osh and ok mak on. Of the forms in the chart above, ok mat seems to be more emphatic, as in 'if ever' or 'whenever', while -h mat and -k mat are simply 'if' or 'when'. -h mat is used in the past tense; -k mat is used in the present and future tense. Examples follow.

Omba-tok ok man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-tok-ahinla.

If it rained, my wash got wet.

Omba hok man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-achin.

If it rains, my wash will get wet.

Ombah man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-tok.

When it rained, my wash got wet.

Ombak man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-achin.

When it rains, my wash will get wet.

Tamaha iyah mat, shapo chompa-tok.

When he went to town, he bought a hat.

Tamaha iyak mat, shapo chompa-achin.

When he goes to town, he will buy a hat.

To begin a sentence with these conjunctions, yohmi is used. Note the following examples:

Omba-tok. Yohmih man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-tok.

It rained. When that happened, my wash got wet.

Omba-achin. Yohmik man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-achin.

It is going to rain. When that happens, my wash will get wet.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmih mat, shapo chompa-tok.

He went to town. And then, he bought a hat.

Tamaha iya-achin. Yohmik mat, shapo chompa-achin.

He is going to go to town. And then he will buy a hat.

And So, Therefore, Because

This conjunction is built out of the article atok o-. When a sentence is not in the past tense, atok ma- is sometimes used. This conjunction has the following forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| atok osh | atok on |
| atok mat | atok man |

Note the following examples:

Siabika hatok osh, alikchi imiyali-achin.

I am sick, so I am going for the doctor.

Okchalhlha ak osh i-lawa hoki, pishno ato i-miyah toklo hatok osh.

We blackbirds are many, because we are of two kinds. (From the shokha anompa about the blackbirds and the owls)

Amba hachishno ato miyah chaffa hachia hatok osh, hachilawa kiyo.

But you all [owls] are of one kind, so you are not many. (From the same shokha anompa)

Tamaha iya-tok on, akpiso ki-tok.

He went to town, so I didn't get to see him.

In the last example, notice that the atok has been dropped out of atok on; this happens whenever atok o- follows the past tense endings -tok and -t tok.

This conjunction can also be used to begin a sentence; in that case, it is used with yohmi, as in the following examples.

Siabika. Yohmi hatok osh, alikchi imiyali-achin.

Okchalhlha ak osh i-miyah toklo. Yohmi hatok osh, i-lawa hoki.

Amba hachishno ato miyah chaffa hachia. Yohmi hatok osh, hachilawa kiyo.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi-tok on, akpiso ki-tok.

And

In Choctaw, when two sentences are joined with the conjunction 'and', the form you use depends on how far apart the two events happened. If they may have happened some time apart, the conjunction -h mat above is used; if one happened right after the other, -cha is used; if they happened at the same time, o- is used. The objective form of -cha is -na. And of course, the forms of o- are osh and on.

Examples with -h mat can be found on pages 9 and 10; in these examples, you can simply translate 'and' instead of 'when', giving, 'It rained and my wash got wet', for example. For examples of -cha and osh see the following:

Yoshoba-cha, filammi-cha, falammi imma ak on ilhkoli-t tok.

They got lost, and turned aside, and went off towards the north.

Binili-na, issoli-tok.

He sat down, and then I hit him.

Hikinyali hosh, hochifoli-tok.

While I was standing, I called him.

Bininlili hon, ala-tok.

While I was sitting, he arrived.

Akpiso ki 'n, Sharon at lachat taha-tok.

While I wasn't watching, Sharon got all wet.

Notice that the o in on and osh are not always pronounced, as in the last example.

To begin a sentence, these conjunctions are used with yohmi. We can change the sentences in the above examples to:

Binili-tok. Yohmi-na, issoli-tok.

Hikinyali-tok. Yohmi hosh, hochifoli-tok.

Bininlili-tok. Yohmi hon, ala-tok.

Akpiso ki-tok. Yohmi hon, Sharon at lachat taha-tok.

Finally, there is the conjunction ak mat or ak man which always begins a sentence, with the meaning 'and'.

Ak man, nanta hon? And what is it?

Ak mat, falammi imma ak on ilhkoli-t tok.

And they went off towards the north.

The Use of Yohmi

The root of this verb is omi meaning 'to be so'. The root occurs in the expression "Omi!" meaning 'okay'. This root takes the prefix y- which cannot be given a meaning, resulting in the verb yomi. This verb is almost always used with the infix -h- which normally means to do something suddenly, as in ahpa 'gulp it down', from apa 'to eat it'. Instead of yohmi, the short forms mi and sometimes i can be used as in

yohmi hatok osh
mi hatok osh
i hatok osh

Besides yohmi, the following forms are sometimes used:

yakohmi
yammohmi

The H

As with the articles, the conjunctions sometimes begin with the letter h, when the preceeding word ends in a vowel. This h really is part of the preceeding word, but is pronounced with the conjunction. Note the following examples, where the h is pronounced:

yohmih mat
yohmi hatok osh
yohmi ak inlih kiya
hattak ak inli hosh

Joining Noun Phrases

Nominative forms of the conjunctions meaning 'and' are used to join noun phrases, as in the old man and the three boys. These are:

| | |
|---|---|
| yohmik mat | mik mat |
| yohmi-cha | mi-cha |
| ak mat | |

Also, the word anonti can be used. Joined noun phrases are often followed by a numeral summing up how many things are involved, or the word aina or

ayina. The numeral is followed by the article.

Tom micha Bill ittitoklo-k at

Tom and Bill

Tom micha Bill micha John isht a-tochchina-k at

Tom and Bill and John

Tom micha Bill micha John micha Bob oshta-k at

Tom, Bill, John and Bob

Tom micha Bill micha John aina hosh

Tom, Bill and John

Hattak atok mat oka pini ak mat chokka aina hon ikbi-tok.

The man built a boat and a house.

Nan alhpowa nokshopa ilappat nashoba yohmik mat kowi.

These wild animals are the wolf and the lion.

Joining Verb Phrases

Verb phrases can be conjoined as in sat down and read a book in John sat down and read a book. One way to do this is to add the nominative case to the first of the two verbs, as in these examples:

Hattak mat tamaha iyat, shapo chompa-tok.

That man went to town and bought a hat.

Hattak mat shapo chompat tamaha iya-tok.

That man went to town to buy a hat.

The first of these sentences is related to the sentence Hattak mat tamaha iyah mat, shapo chompa-tok. 'That man went to town, and he bought a hat (there)'; the second sentence is related to Shapo chompa-k at, hattak mat tamaha iya-tok. 'In order to buy a hat, that man went to town'.

Some common verbs have special short forms when this -t is added to them. Note the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bininlit | binint | 'sitting' |
| balilit | balit | 'run' |
| pisat | pist | 'see' |
| pilat | pit | 'throw' |
| hoyot | hot | 'seek' |
| onat | ont | 'arrive there' |
| alat | ant | 'arrive here' |
| ishit | isht | 'pick up' |
| bashat | basht | 'gashed' |

If two things are happening at the same time, the article osh is used. The o in osh is not always pronounced.

Hikinya hosh hochifoli-tok.

Standing I called him.

Tiwachi hosh hapi ish-ibani.

Stirring you add salt.

Or

To join noun phrases with the meaning 'or', the article chon can be used, as in

Ilappat ofi chon hoshi hon?

Is this a dog or a bird?

It is more usual to say something like "If A, if not, if B, something" to translate "A or B". Note the following examples:

Pankapi atok mat iti ok man, kiyok mat, shawwa kiyok mat, nanna hon aboyya-ahinla hok mat, aba pit aboyyah chatok.

If the grape vine can climb a tree or bush, it climbs up there.

Hattak atok mat tamaha iyak man, kiyok mat, inchokka iyak man, nanna-tok.

That man either went to town or went home.

Kocha ombak man, oktoshak man, nanna amahoba.

I think it will rain or snow.

## IV. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are words like I you he she it we you all and they. Like the English pronouns, the Choctaw pronouns have three persons (first, second and third) and two numbers (singular and plural). In addition, Choctaw has a paucal number for one pronoun.

The first person includes the speaker: I we; the second person includes the addressee or person spoken to, but not the speaker: you, you all; the third person is the person spoken about: he, she, it, they.

The singular number is used for one person or thing; I, you, he, she, it all refer to only one person or thing. The plural number is used to refer to more than one person or thing; we, you all, they all refer to more than one. The paucal number is used to refer to just a few persons or things.

We use the following symbols to indicate the meanings of pronouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | first person singular | I |
| 2 | second person singular | you |
| 3 | third person singular | he |
| 1' | first person paucal | we few |
| 1" | first person plural | we |
| 2' | second person plural | you all |
| 3' | third person plural | they |

For some dialects of Choctaw, the difference between 1' and 1" is said to be that 1" includes the person spoken to, and means 'you and I'.

In addition, there is the reciprocal 'each other, together', and the reflexive 'onesself'.

We are now ready to list the Choctaw personal pronouns. There are basically two kinds. The independent pronouns are based on the root

no or shno. The dependent pronouns cannot stand alone as words, except in one special case, but are added to other words. There are several sets of dependent personal pronouns; we call each set by the form of the first person singular.

THE CHOCTAW PRONOUNS

| | Indep. | SA | SA' | A | AM | AK | LI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ano | sa- | sa- | a- | am- | a-k- | -li |
| 2 | chishno | chi- | chi- | chi- | chim- | chi-k- | ish- |
| 3 | ------- | --- | i- | i- | im- | i-k- | --- |
| 1' | pishno | pi- | pi- | pi- | pim- | k-il- | il- |
| 1" | hapishno | hapi- | hapi- | hapi- | hapim- | k-iloh- | iloh- |
| 2' | hachishno | hachi- | hachi- | hachi- | hachim- | hachi-k- | hash- |
| 3' | --------- | ----- | i- | i- | im- | i-k- | ---- |
| Ref | | ili- | | | ilim- | | |
| Rec | | itti- | | | ittim- | | |

Notice that there are no third person pronouns for the independent pronouns, the SA series, or the LI series. In the case of the independent pronouns, the articles are used, especially mato and mano, but also pato pano ilappato ilappano yammato yammano in the sense of 'this one' and 'that one' or 'these ones' and 'those ones'. These are used only for emphasis. In the SA, SA' and LI series, the third person is simply understood.

Note also the following points:

1. The only difference between the SA and SA' series is that the SA' series has a prefix for the third person.
2. The only difference between the SA' and A series is that the A series has no s in the first person singular.

3. The AM series is derived from the A series by the suffix -m.

4. The AK series is derived from the A series; the k- is the negative prefix. The exceptions are the first person plural and paucal, which are from the LI series.

5. The second person plural is derived from the second person singular by the prefix ha-.

6. The first person plural is derived from the first person paucal by the prefix ha-, or in the AK and LI series, by the suffix -oh.

Each series of pronouns has its own functions. We describe these below for reference; they are described in more detail in later chapters.

Independent Pronouns These are used like the English personal pronouns. They are used for emphasis only; compare these two examples:

Chishno ato chilachat taha-tok. YOU got all wet.

Chilachat taha-tok. You got all wet.

The SA Series These are added to transitive verbs to indicate the direct object, and to adjectives and participles to indicate the subject.

The SA' Series These are added to nouns (body parts and kin terms) to indicate the possessor. They are also added to postpositions.

The A Series These are used with a few of the body part and kin term nouns.

The AM Series These are added to nouns which denote things one acquires, to indicate the possessor. They are added to verbs to indicate the indirect object.

The LI Series These are added to active verbs to indicate the subject.

The AK Series These are essentially the forms of the LI series used with the negative prefix k-.

## Changes in the Affixes

The dependent or affixed pronouns undergo certain modifications when they appear in words. We list these changes here for reference. The LI series--except for the suffix -li--are proclitics, so we always separate them from the following word with a dash. In these examples, we separate the other prefixes with a dash only for convenience.

1. am- changes to sam- whenever it does not begin a word.

| | |
|---|---|
| am-a | 'to give it to me' |
| is-sam-a | 'for you to give it to me' |
| am-ansha | 'for me to have some' |
| ik-sam-ik-sho | 'for me not to have any' |
| am-pila | 'to throw it to me' |
| ik-sam-pilo | 'to not throw it to me' |

2. sa- changes to si- before a or o.

| | |
|---|---|
| sa-pisa | 'to see me' |
| si-apila | 'to help me' |

3. ish- and hash- change to is- and has- before s.

| | |
|---|---|
| ish-pisa | 'for you to see it' |
| is-sa-pisa | 'for you to see me' |
| is-sakki | 'for you to catch up with him' |

4. iloh- changes to iho- before consonants.

| | |
|---|---|
| iloh-apila | 'for us to help him' |
| iho-pisa | 'for us to see him' |

5. il- changes to i- before consonants.

| | |
|---|---|
| il-apila | 'for us to help him' |
| i-pisa | 'for us to see him' |

Note: The i is long in iho- and i-.

6. The m of the AM series changes to

a. m before m: ammínko 'my chief'

b. n before n: anníya 'my fat'

c. n before any other consonant except b and p:

anchókka 'my house'
ampíni 'my boat'
ambála 'my beans'

These changes are spelling changes in accord with the rules for spelling nasal vowels; before any consonant, the m is lost and the vowel is lengthened and nasalized.

In addition to these pronouns, there is a second person plural pronoun used in commands or requests; it is the prefix oh-. As in the first person plural forms of the LI series, this oh- changes to ho- before consonants.

ho-minti 'you all come on'

oh-abi 'you all kill it'

oh-apila 'you all help him'

## Dialect Differences

There are some dialect differences in the forms and uses of the dependent pronouns. For example, some Choctaws use ihoh- instead of iloh-, and hoh- instead of oh-. Some Choctaws say a-shki 'my mother' and a-ppokni 'my grandmother' with the A series; other Choctaws say sa-shki and sa-ppokni with the SA' series.

## V. PRONOUN AFFIXES IN THE NOUN

In Chapter IV we discussed the dependent pronouns, or pronoun affixes, in general. In this and the following chapters we discuss the use of the dependent pronouns in different parts of speech. In this chapter, we discuss their use in nouns of various types.

It is convenient to divide nouns into two large classes, in order to state the general rules for the use of the pronouns. The first class is the alienable class; these nouns refer to things one can acquire and lose in his lifetime--things he owns. The second class is the inalienable class; these nouns refer to things one is born with, or relationships with other people that one is born with, that one cannot acquire or lose. The second class has three major subclasses: nouns refering to body parts, nouns refering to kinfolk, and nouns of orientation. These distinctions will all be clear in the discussion which follows.

The most general rule for the use of the dependent pronouns is the following: To indicate the possessor, alienable nouns take the pronouns of the AM series; a few kin terms take the A series; all other inalienable nouns take the SA' series.

There are a few exceptions to this rule, which we will indicate, as we discuss each of the noun classes and subclasses. It should be pointed out that we are describing the usage of primarily one dialect; some nouns may be treated a little differently in other dialects.

For convenience, we repeat the chart of the pronouns from Chapter IV, giving only the SA', A and AM series.

PRONOUN AFFIXES IN THE NOUN

| | SA' | A | AM |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | sa- | a- | am- |
| 2 | chi- | chi- | chim- |
| 3 | i- | i- | im- |
| 1' | pi- | pi- | pim- |
| 1" | hápi- | hapi- | hapim- |
| 2' | hachi- | hachi- | hachim- |
| 3' | i- | i- | im- |

Alienable Nouns

For examples of the inflection of nouns of this class, we take ofi 'dog', minko 'chief', niya 'fat', chokka 'house', and bala 'beans'.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | amofi | ammminko | annniya | anchokka | ambala |
| 2 | chimofi | chimminko | chinniya | chinchokka | chimbala |
| 3 | imofi | immminko | inniya | inchokka | imbala |
| 1' | pimofi | pimminko | pinniya | pinchokka | pimbala |
| 1" | hapimofi | hapimminko | hapinniya | hapinchokka | hapimbala |
| 2' | hachimofi | hachimminko | hachinniya | hachinchokka | hachimbala |
| 3' | imofi | immminko | inniya | inchokka | imbala |

All words beginning in a vowel are like ofi; words beginning with m are like minko; words beginning with n are like niya; words beginning with b or p are like bala; words beginning with the other consonants are like chokka. The variations in spelling of the m of the pronouns is in accord with the rules for spelling nasal vowels.

When the thing owned is referred to with a compound noun, like issi hakshop 'deer hide', the possessive pronouns are separate words;

an issi hakshop, chin issi hakshop, in issi hakshop, pin issi hakshop, hapin issi hakshop, hachin issi hakshop, in issi hakshop.

According to Cyrus Byington's dictionary, there used to be a word for 'dog' which took the SA' series to indicate the possessor. This word had the following forms: sapaf, chipaf, ipaf, pipaf, hapipaf, hachipaf, ipaf. This word seems to be no longer used.

## Inalienable Nouns

As we said before, these nouns generally take pronoun prefixes of the SA' series, though there are a few kin terms which take the A series, and some exceptions which take the AM series like alienable nouns. Some of these nouns, like nishkin 'eye' can occur without any prefix; others, like ishki 'mother' always have a prefix--ishki is really i-shki 'his mother'.

### Nouns of Orientation

These nouns refer to positions with respect to ones body. English nouns of orientation include top, side, and front. They have two uses; one use is illustrated by on the top of, to tell where something is located; the other use is illustrated by the top of the house or the house's top, to say something about the top itself. Compare the man is on top of the house with the top of the house is red. In the first use, nouns of orientation are used like prepositions (in, under, on); in the second use, nouns of orientation are used like other nouns.

Choctaw can use nouns of orientation in these same two ways. In the first use they are postpositions: sapaknaka 'on top of me' from pakna 'top'; as this example shows, they often take a suffix -ka in the postpositional use. In the nominal use they do not take -ka: sapakna 'my top', 'the top of me'.

All nouns of orientation take the SA' series. As examples, we give the forms of tikba 'front' and anshaka 'back side, behind'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | satikba | sianshaka |
| 2 | chitikba | chianshaka |
| 3 | itikba | anshaka |
| 1' | pitikba | pianshaka |
| 1" | hapitikba | hapianshaka |
| 2' | hachitikba | hachianshaka |
| 3' | itikba | anshaka |

Most nouns of orientation are like anshaka; they do not take the third person prefix i-; we might say that they take the SA series instead of the SA' series. Note that sa- in anshaka changes to si- because it is followed by a (see rule 2 on page 19).

The nouns of orientation are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pakna | 'top', 'above' | kocha | 'outside' |
| nota | 'under' | kochchaka | 'outside' |
| akashtala | 'below' | anonka | 'inside' |
| tikba | 'front' | anokanka | 'just inside' |
| anshaka | 'behind' | bilinka | 'near' |
| olbala | 'behind' | lapalika | 'beside' |
| okbala | 'behind' | apata | 'beside' |
| | | ittintakla | 'between, among' |

The opposite of bilinka 'near' is the verb hopaki 'to be far from'. To say that something is far from something else, one says something like A being far from B stands or hattak atok mat ohoyo inhopaki hon hikinya 'the man being far from the woman is standing'.

Body Part Nouns

These nouns refer to parts of the body, substances produced by the body, substances of which the body is made, and such concepts as the soul and name. Most of them take the SA' series. As examples, we give

the forms of nishkin 'eye' and tahchi 'shoulder'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | sanishkin | sahtahchi |
| 2 | chinishkin | chihtahchi |
| 3 | inishkin | ihtahchi |
| 1' | pinishkin | pihtahchi |
| 1" | hapinishkin | hachihtahchi |
| 2' | hachinishkin | hachihtahchi |
| 3' | inishkin | ihtahchi |

Notice that some nouns like tahchi take an h- prefix when they take the pronoun prefixes. In some nouns, this h- can change into a duplicate of the following consonant, as in sattahchi for sahtahchi. In some nouns, the h- always changes in this way.

In the following list of body parts, if a noun begins with the prefix i- for the third person, it must always have a prefix; otherwise it can occur without the prefix. If a noun takes the prefix h-, this is indicated in parentheses. If the h- can change, this is also indicated in parentheses by giving the sound it changes into. If the h- must change, we give only the sound it changes into.

| | |
|---|---|
| shakba (h, sh) | 'arm' |
| tahchi (h, t) | 'shoulder' |
| chonkash (h, ch) | 'heart' |
| panshi (p) | 'head hair' |
| choshshak (ch) | 'back of the head' |
| nali (n) | 'back' |
| hatip (h) | 'hip' |
| shanakha (h, sh) | 'the back across the shoulders' |
| takobba (t) | 'stomach' |
| foni (h, f) | 'bone' |
| hayinhchi (h) | 'kidney' |
| shilombish (sh) | 'soul' |
| hanali (h) | 'leg' |
| sanahchi (s) | 'wing' |
| noti (n) | 'tooth' |
| nishkobo | 'head' |